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FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY, ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1919

Advertising Woman's Party Meeting in San Francisco

One of the thousands of meetings being held over the United States to demand passage of National Suffrage Amendment

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

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Notes of the Week

Another Organization of Women Voters

AN organization of women voters is to be formed through the efforts of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It will be known as the League of Women Voters, the name not to be adopted officially until 1920. Like the other organization of women voters, the National Woman's Party, which was formed three years ago in Chicago, the new association will be non-partisan and non-sectarian, it will also be non-miltiant.

In the 1920 election women will be able to vote for President in at least twenty-six states. Wtihin the last few days presidential suffrage bills have gone into effect in Maine and Minnesota. There are in these twenty-six states more than twelve million women who will be eligible to vote for President. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that President Wilson should cable to the organizing women voters.

"Best wishes for convention. I earnestly hope suffrage amendment will soon be adopted."

It is, however, most remarkable that the President who has had it in his power to pass the amendment and has not done so, should think that women voters will be satisfied with his expressed good wishes sent to suffrage organizations, when he has not secured for the amendment its passage by that Congress in which his Party was in control.

Suffrage in Iowa

WOMAN suffrage in Iowa is progressing, but slowly. The state Senate bill calling for the submission of the measure to the voters was passed by the House with but one dissenting vote. Before the measure goes to the voters it must be passed again by both branches of the legislature which will not meet again for two years. The measure was passed two years ago, but the vote was nullified on account of a technicality in regard to the publication of the bill which was not conformed with. At this rate Iowa women may eventually get a vote, but it will indeed be after much delay.

Eight Hour Law for Women Legal

THE Supreme Court of the Untied States has affirmed decisions of lower courts upholding the eight hour law for women as passed in the state of Arizona. The law provides that the eight hours of work shall be done within a prescribed twelve hours. It is not necessary to remind our readers that the states which have eight hour working laws for women have also woman suffrage in every instance.

Swiss Suffrage Situation

THE suffrage situation in Switzerland is somewhat analogous to that in this country since Switzerland is made up of 22 cantons any one of which may pass independent suffrage measures which will in no way effect other cantons. For a long time the Swiss suffragists worked only to secure suffrage in the separate cantons. They have now adopted a new policy and are working for a revision of the federal constitution. The change in policy was brought about largely by the situation arising as a result of the general strike which occurred immediately following the signing of the armistice. The strikers demanded universal suffrage. The suffrage association supported the demand and called a meeting to consider a new policy. They discussed three possible courses: support of the Socialist Party which had announced its intention of starting a popular initiative in favor of woman suffrage; forcing a popular initiative by securing the discussion of the measure by the federal chambers and its subsequent submission to a popular vote upon the demand of 50,000 citizens; third the total revision of the federal constitution which would include woman suffrage. The last policy was adopted unanimously by the suffragists after much discussion.

Revision of the constitution requires not only a favorable vote in parliament but a referendum to the electors. Since many Swiss are peasants living in remote mountains regions, spreading suffrage propaganda among them will be a difficult task. The suffragists nevertheless, feel most encouraged for the success of their movement according to their president, Emilie Gourd. The resolution was introduced by members of different parties into the federal parliament. The Swiss National Council of Women representing 20,000 women has for the first time endorsed suffrage.

The passage of the federal suffrage measure in Switzerland, unlike our own Susan B. Anthony amendment, will not carry with it local suffrage. It is thought that local suffrage will be easily obtainable if the vote on national affairs is won first.

Women May Join Club

ONE of the most exclusive political clubs in London—the Eighty Club—has opened its doors to women. The club was formed in 1880 to promote the objects set forth in the Gladstonian program. Membership in the club has been eagerly sought by young barristers and politicians. Up to the present no woman has availed herself of the privilege of joining the club.

A Possible Woman M. P.

THIS item is taken from *the Vote*, London, March 17:

"It seems that, in spite of the failure of all but one of the women candidates on December 14 last, a woman is likely to take her seat in the present Parliament. The Central Hull Conservative Association has unanimously decided to invite Lady Sykes to be its candidate, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband, Sir Mark Sykes. Lady Sykes is a daughter of the late Sir John Gorst, a man of great originality and political independence, well known in his time as the champion of many good causes. If, as we hope, Lady Sykes consents to be nominated, little fear need be entertained as to the result, as Sir Mark's majority at the election numbered 10,000."

Suffrage in Hawaii Delayed

THE house of the territorial legislature of Hawaii has defeated the woman suffrage bill. It is expected that a bill will be passed which will submit the measure to a plebiscite.

Presidential Suffrage Spreading

A PRESIDENTIAL suffrage bill was passed by the Missouri state Senate on March 28 by a vote of 21 to 12. The vote on the measure had been delayed because of the difficulty in getting all the eighteen favorable members present at the same time. Several members stated that they would vote for the measure if its passage should be assured without their votes. These men were determined to be on whichever side should be successful. One of the favorable senators arrived at the capital of the state by a special train just in time to save the day for the measure. The lower House of the legislature is overwhelmingly in favor of suffrage and will undoubtedly pass the bill with little opposition.

The Missouri Senate passed unanimously a resolution submitting to the voters a constitutional amendment for full suffrage.

English Women Get Out-of-Work Donation

IN Tottenham, England, five thousand women are receiving what is called an out-of-work donation. The women are receiving pay while they are making themselves proficient in skilled trades for which their services are needed since the cessation of hostilities. It has been suggested in the House of Commons that a bill be passed to make this arrangement general. In England as in this country the general rule followed in industry after the signing of the armistice was women first discharged from work. In England they are at least considering doing something about the unemployment situation which has arisen.

Membership of Suffrage Committee in the New House

Representative Mann Chosen Chairman

IT has been announced by the Republican Committee on Committees that Representative James R. Mann of Illinois, for many years Republican Floor Leader of the House of Representatives, will be chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee in the new House of Representatives. The other Republican members of the Suffrage Committee, as announced by the Republican Committee on Committees, are: Representatives Edward C. Little, of Kansas; Richard N. Elliott, of Indiana; John I. Nolan, of California; Sherman E. Burroughs, of New Hampshire; Adolphus P. Nelson, of Wisconsin; John McCrate, of New York; and George W. Edmonds, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Mann takes the place formerly held by Mr. Raker, of California, Democrat, as chairman of the committee. The Republicans take the place of the Democrats in holding the majority of the membership of the committee. The Democratic members of the committee have not as yet been chosen.

Mr. Mann has been the Republican Floor Leader for many years and always a very important factor in the House. He was offered the floor leadership in the present House, but withdrew in favor of Mr. Mondell, of Wyoming. Mr. Mann will have as great an influence upon legislation as perhaps any individual member in the new House, although the chairmanship of the Woman Suffrage Committee is the only official position which he has accepted.

Mr. Mondell, the new Republican floor leader succeeding Mr. Mann, says of him in connection with the Susan B. Anthony amendment:

"He will handle this in a quick, thorough, masterful way."

Mr. Mann as chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, and Mr. Mondell as majority floor leader, are the two men who will have most to do with the suffrage measure in the House of Representatives. In a recent interview Mr. Mondell, who is a strong suffragist, said concerning the amendment in the new session of Congress—that he could not now say whether it would be in three days, or four days, or five days, or ten days, but it would pass, and pass at the earliest possible moment.

According to the announcement of Mr. Mann, the Committee plans the introduction of the Susan B. Anthony amendment immediately upon the convening of Congress, and an immediate favorable report of the amendment. The Committee also plans, according to Mr. Mann, to back up its report by pressure for the speedy passage of the amendment through the House.

Mr. Mann has been a strong and constant supporter of suffrage during the time that suffragists have been working for the passage of the suffrage amendment by Congress. Several years ago, before women voted in his own state of Illinois, he showed his conviction on this measure by working in the House of Representatives for the measure which made possible the enfranchisement of the women of Alaska. He voted for suffrage both times when it came before the House of Representatives. The last time, in January, 1918, he came at great personal effort and possible personal danger, from a sick bed at Johns Hopkins, to cast his vote for the amendment.

OF the Republican members of Mr. Mann's committee, two, Mr. Little of Kansas, and Mr. Elliott of Indiana, were members of the suffrage committee in the last Congress and both voted for a favorable report on suffrage by the committee. Representatives Little, Elliott, Nolan, Burroughs and Edmonds were all members of the last House of Representatives and voted for the suffrage amendment.

Representatives McCrate and Nelson are the only new members of Congress on the committee. Mr. Nelson has sent the following statement to the Woman's Party concerning his position on the federal amendment: "I have yours of November 13, in regard to Federal Suffrage amendment. In reply will say that my platform has always been in support of woman's suffrage. I believe in woman's suffrage with all my heart, and shall be glad to do what I can for it." Mr. McCrate is understood to be in favor of the amendment, although he has not yet made a public statement of his position.

Representative Mann

Mr. Nolan, of California, has been an especially influential and active worker for the enfranchisement of women. Years ago in California, where he has long been a prominent leader in labor circles, he declared to labor councils and labor boards of various sorts that "labor must stand for the giving of the ballot to women." He was largely instrumental in the winning of suffrage for women in California.

Mr. Nelson, of Wisconsin, was elected to fill the vacancy in the eleventh Wisconsin District caused by Mr. Lenroot's election to the Senate, and is not to be confused with Mr. John M. Nelson of the Third Wisconsin District, who led our memorable fight in the Judiciary Committee of the House. Like his namesake, Mr. Adolphus P. Nelson has been a suffragist of many years standing.

Mr. Burroughs, of New Hampshire, was a suffragist for many years before he came to Congress in 1917 to fill a vacancy. He not only voted for the amendment last year in the House, but he has also tried to win the needed vote for it in the Senate, having urged a favorable stand on the amendment upon the succession of Senators that New Hampshire has sent down since the death of Senator Gallinger, last summer.

Mr. Edmonds, of Pennsylvania, has been steadily for suffrage since he has been in Congress, having voted for it in January, 1915. When later that year in the Pennsylvania State Referendum his district went against suffrage, he did not make this an excuse to change his position, but again voted yea when the amendment passed the House in January, 1918.

THE Woman Suffrage Committee was first created in the House of Representatives in the autumn of 1917. For many years, beginning when Susan B. Anthony was working for suffrage at the National Capitol, the agitation for the creation of a special committee to deal with suffrage in the House of Representatives had continued. Throughout this time the House failed to create a committee on suffrage, although one had been created long ago in the Senate. All suffrage measures were sent to the Judiciary Committee of the House—a committee whose time was absorbed in so many different matters that the securing of consideration for suffrage was difficult. After the creation of the Suffrage Committee in 1917, the woman suffrage measure was entrusted to that committee, hearings were held early in January, 1918, a favorable report was given by the Suffrage Committee in January, 1918, and the suffrage amendment, for the first time, passed through the House of Representatives in January, 1918.

Suffrage in the New Congress

A SUFFRAGE poll of the new members of the House of Representatives has been practically completed by the lobby chairman of the National Woman's Party, Miss Maud Younger. Three-fourths of the newly-elected representatives announced their intention to vote for the federal amendment. Some 20 are yet to be heard from. Replies up to date stand 83 in favor of the amendment, 7 noncommital, and but four against.

There is a noteworthy gain in the South. New men from Georgia, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, New Mexico, have all sent in assurance of their support.

Among the men so far heard from are:

California: H. E. Barbour, Republican, writes "I shall do all I can to assist the passage of the amendment"; H. S. Hersman, Republican, states that he "advocated as a candidate and will not disappoint the women in my vote."

Colorado: Guy S. Hardy, Republican, states that his name should be "included among the favorable."

Delaware: C. P. Layton, Republican, says "Have favored enfranchisement of women for years, favor it now, and shall vote for it."

Georgia: W. D. Upshaw, known as the "Georgia Cyclone," writes, "Rocked in the cradle of Southern chivalry, I grew up opposed to equal suffrage, basing my opposition on the highest loyalty to woman; but the incontestible equity of the thing forced itself upon me. I am glad to tell you that I am now an unwilling convert to suffrage."

Illinois: C. R. Chindblom, and F. L. Smith, Republicans respectively, "endorse the amendment" and declare as "heartily in favor"; John W. Rainey, says, "I am for woman suffrage because I know of no reason why the privilege of voting should depend on the accident of sex."

Indiana: J. W. Dunbar, Republican, though, according to his statement, he has always been opposed, declares that "in view of what women have done in the war" he will support the amendment.

Iowa: W. D. Boies, Republican, says, "I shall vote for woman suffrage if presented for my endorsement. Why do I say so? Because I had the best mother that ever lived. She lived unto her 85th birthday, and from the time I could remember until the time of her death she never laid down a harsh rule for anyone to follow. Thinking of her today I am willing to trust the ballot in the hands of the women of this country."

New members of the Kansas delegation are emphatic in their assurances of support. "Every vote and every effort of mine shall be to advance it," says Homer Hoch. "I shall without reservation and on all occasions vote for woman suffrage and national prohibition. We have both in our state and know they are both right," J. N. Tincher. Hayes B. White announced that he is "for it strong as horseradish." Arthur Capper, Senator-elect, writes the National Woman's Party, "You may put me down as emphatically in favor of the federal suffrage amendment and you can count on me to do everything in my power to secure the passage of the amendment before or after I take my seat in the Senate. It would be very gratifying to me to have the opportunity of casting my vote for it as senator from Kansas."

Kentucky: J. M. Robinson writes that he favored the plank in the Republican platform and is still for the amendment.

Massachusetts: J. F. Fitzgerald, Democrat, proclaims that he is now as he has always been "a strong advocate of federal suffrage and can be counted on to vote for it."

Missouri: Edward D. Hayes says, "The Republican Party in Missouri has declared in favor of the suffrage amendment and I am in accord with my party on that proposition."

Nebraska: M. O. Laughlin, Republican, says: "I am very much in favor of the federal suffrage amendment—in fact, I have been a supporter of the woman suffrage movement ever since I cast my first ballot."

New Mexico: "I am unalterably in favor of woman suffrage. I will be for woman suffrage and the Susan B. Anthony amendment and any other amendment that will give the women of this country equal suffrage with men. My experience in this state is that our women are just as capable of determining public affairs as the men are. In addition they are more virtuous, more honorable, and more industrious. I do not say that we have no good American male citizens in New Mexico, but that is my tribute to the women of my state. You can therefore count on me for suffrage early and late," says B. C. Hernandez.

New York: "You may record me as unreservedly in favor of it. Nothing in my Congressional career, that I know of, will please me more than to vote for it. Independent of the conceded merit and justice of the amendment I feel a personal pride and satisfaction in so doing, showing thereby my appreciation of an honor which I prize highly, being the first man elected from the borough of Manhattan in the City of New York with the assistance of women's votes"—this from Jerome F. Donovan, Democrat. "I have always been in favor of woman suffrage even in the days when few or no politicians seriously supported it. If your committee should think it wise to entrust the matter to a member of the minority I should feel most honored if I might have the task of introducing the amendment in the lower house at the next session of Congress. In any case you may count on my definite support of the amendment," Herbert C. Pell, Democrat. "I beg to say that the participation of women in political affairs in New York as it came under my personal observation did much to elevate the tone of campaign work and introduced a refining influence in politcal meetings and an intelligent and conscientious use of the ballot, consequently I am heartily in favor of female suffrage," W. E. Cleary, Democrat.

Military Effectiveness Vindicated

"ON April 17, 1913, Miss Alice Paul, then head of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, demanded an audience with the President. The President was too busy to see the delegation. The delegation marched to the White House to see the President anyhow—and it did. The editors were shocked, It was "militancy." Ten more times the militants sent delegations to see the President—and then he came out for suffrage in New Jersey. They fought him in 1916, picketed him in 1917—and then he came out for the federal suffrage amendment. They stopped picketing for six months. Then they demanded, on June 8, 1918, that he go to the Senate "and tell the administration servants" to vote for the federal amendment. Getting no results, picketing was renewed on August 12, 1918, and continued until the President addressed the Senate on September 30 in favor of the force bill. Picketing stopped for three months. Then they demanded a Democratic caucus and started to burn the President speeches. The Democratic caucus was held—but did not adopt the suffrage resolutoin. Then the suffragists burned the President in effigy. What will they do next? And what do they want next?

"The more the President gives these militant children when they cry, the more they cry, the more militant they become.

"Something is surely the matter with the teaching of psychology in our universities when political crybabies can get anything they want if they make enough noise and show enough rage in suffrage."—*From "The Woman Patriot," Organ of the Anti-suffrage Association, March 1, 1919.*

President Wilson Cables Support of National Suffrage Amendment

PRESIDENT Wilson cabled from Paris to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, meeting in Convention in St. Louis, Missouri, on March 27, as follows:

"Best wishes for Convention. I earnestly hope suffrage amendment will soon be adopted.

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON."

President Wilson is not, however, doing anything to call Congress in an extra session to pass the amendment immediately. Until he takes this step nothing can be done to secure the adoption of the amendment.

Women to Be Allowed Office in League of Nations

A NEWS dispatch by cable from Paris brings information of the adoption of an amendment to the League of Nations covenant by the group of Peace Council representatives who are drawing plans for the proposed League of Nations, according to which women will be entitled to hold any office in the League. Even the chairmanship of the executive council, the highest office in the League, will be open to women.

The decision to this effect was reached at the March 26th meeting of the League commission and made known in America several days later.

The Woman's Party in the United States

(Translated from the Italian of an Article in "L'Epoca" Rome, Italy, Feb. 16, 1919)

ONE of the most interesting of American social movements is certainly that of the women, who have formed here a real party of their own, active and powerful both in those states in which they vote (about one-half) and in those in which they do not yet vote.

It is not possible to be long in America today without hearing the "pickets" spoken of, at times with harsh severity, and at others with the highest and most sincere enthusiasm, even on the part of men.

Anything which excites such diversiy of opinions and sentiments cannot fail to arouse the interest of one who studies a given country. The "Pickets," the name which familiarly distinguishes the members of the National Woman's Party, are not exceptions to this rule. This party, which constitutes the most active section of the suffrage movement in America, represents a particularly interesting phase of the political activity of the women of the United States.

The National Woman's Party was formed a few years ago by the younger and more militant spirits of the "National Woman's Suffrage Association of America." Under the active direction of Miss Alice Paul, a small band of crusaders became convinced that for effective propaganda and successful political action it was necessary to use more direct and more energetic methods. It was out of a schism over this question of methods that there developed the National Woman's Party, with a quite definite plan of action, under the clever leadership—and, we may say, somewhat autocratic leadership—of Miss Alice Paul, who had learned political strategy and drawn inspiration from her experiences in the pre-war campaigns of the English suffragists.

During the war, the continued propaganda and agitation of the National Woman's Party served only to increase the animosity of their enemies. The spirit which animates this indefatigable band of women, the spirit which is characteristic of the methods they employ, is one of grand impatience. What do they want? They want the vote, and they are tired of empty promises and unredeemed politcal pledges. They know that the granting of this right depends upon a group of politcians and they believe that only the pressure of public opinion will force them to cede it.

AS the swiftest and most satisfactory means of guaranteeing equal political rights to all American women, the party demands that Congress shall approve without delay the famous Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The text of this amendment, guaranteeing equal political rights to women, was drawn a half century ago by the famous pioneer of the feminist movement in America whose name it bears. Regularly for many years the amendment has been presented to Congress, and as regularly has been defeated.

It is true that in many states the women have finally won the vote, but for the recognition of the rights of the women of the entire nation the National Woman's Party demands swift and decisive action by the Federal government. They maintain that the Federal government, which enfranchised the negroes after the Civil War, should exert this same authority on behalf of the American women; and hold that local and partial concessions represent only a loss of time and a useless waste of energy. For this reason they concentrate their efforts upon the Federal government, and more especially upon the President himself, as the head of that government. They hold the President responsible for the passage of the amendment, because—if he will—he has sufficient power to urge and almost to compel its approval, and they believe that if they concentrate all their attack upon him he will end by taking up their cause.

THEIR strategy—well known in military science—is that of concentrating the greatest possible force upon a single point of attack; and to this end they have sought to draw the attention of the whole country upon the question of enfranchisement by consttiutional amendment. They wished to create in the public mind the conviction that the President was chiefly responsible for this right, and that he could grant or withhold it. They wished to create a psychological condition, to draw into a single focus of attention; President, Congress, Amendment.

However one may view the methods adopted by the party—and opinions upon this point greatly vary—it cannot be denied that they contain a valid political theory, and that they are based upon sound principles of propaganda and advertising—a science which reached an extraordinary development in the United States. At all events, it cannot be denied that these methods have obtained success. What more could any politician ask?

The headquarters of the Party are in Washington, where Miss Paul directs its vast national activity, which includes all the various methods of propaganda familiar to American political parties. Literature is prepared for the press, pamphlets and circulars are distributed, campaigns of speeches and meetings are organized throughout the country, and close contact is maintained with Senators and Repre-

sentatives. . . .

At the headquarters of the Woman's Party in Washington there is published a weekly, "The Suffragist," notable and often extremely diverting for the devilish wit and spirited vivacity of certain of its articles.

At election times, of course, the activity of the party is greatly increased. Local candidates are supported or opposed according as they promise to favor the passage of the precious amendment.

THE characteristic activity of the party, however, and that from which they derive their familiar name, is "picketing." It was this form of propaganda which won for the women during the war such notoriety, and even injury and ill-treatment. It was part of their activity which gave them the name of "pickets"—among their enemies a term of contempt, among their friends a nickname of affection.

The method of picketing, as adopted for political propaganda by the National Woman's Party is very simple—recalling the tactics of labor unions during strikes. Members of the party, who volunteer for this service, take up positions like sentinels by the iron gates of the White House grounds, holding banners and signs with inscriptions of appeal or protest relevant to their political purpose. For example: "Mr. President, how long must American women wait for liberty?" or "Swedish women have the vote. Why is this right denied in America?" etc. Sometimes the banners do not carry any inscription, but display only the purple and yellow colors of the party which have become more significant than any words.

For many months, before the war, the pickets were a familiar sight in Washington. Every day, rain or shine, even in the most severe winter, they were always at their posts by the White House gates, reminding the passesrs-by of their appeal and—unavoidably—by their presence there, drawing attention to the man who was the immediate object of that appeal; and this man himself, whenever he passed in or out was reminded of their still unsatisfied demands.

A KIND of sword of Damocles! The picketing continued for many months without molestation, although the press violently attacked the proceeding. But the National Woman's Party was not perturbed, even when it was accused of exaggeration and bad taste. They wanted the vote, and this method was not so bad for their purpose. So, day after day, the purple and golden banners waved proudly, a challenge and an accusation, before the White House gates. After a while the officials and the clerks of the various government bureaus became accustomed to these faithful sentinels, though strangers passing by were daily reminded that American women were demanding their rights, too long denied.

Then came the war. The White House gates were closed to the public, guards were posted, the streets assumed an unaccustomed military aspect, and the thoughts of all gradually bent towards a single end. The patriotic sentiment increased, and with it grew impatience, and even intolerance, of anything which might distract from the purpose of winning the war. The National Woman's Party was advised to withdraw its pickets, to grant a truce for the duration of the war.

But anyone who knew their tenacity and their ardor knew that this they would not grant, that this they could not grant. They believed in their right and maintained that the very naure of this war rendered even more urgent decision in their favor.

SO the fight was on. The press raged against the party. Arrests and trials ensued. Several times the public intervened and a few hot heads even resorted to violence; notwithstanding a clause of the Constitution of the United States, of which the Americans are so proud, which guarantees liberty of speech and of the press and the right to public assembly and petition to the government.

The women demanded their rights with dignity. Old and young joined in parades (demonstrations of this sort, resembling military reviews, are a national characteristic) organized in perfect order, without any intent of violence. Arrested, even the most refined and intelligent women endured imprisonment with thieves and prostitutes. Several times the court had to decide that these arrests were illegal and that the police had abused their power, since the Womans' Party had not attempted to resort to methods of violence or disorder and never used force even when arrested, but had simply attempted to exercise that right which the constitution grants impartially to all Americans.

Naturally the press printed detailed accounts of these more or less sensational episodes. This publicity served well the purpose of the party. What did it matter to these women to be ill-treated and vilified, if these unjust measures, these lies, served to keep alive the public interest in the question of suffrage by constitutional amendment? And indeed, the whole country followed with interest the suffrage battle which was thus concentrated at Washington about the White House. The arrests and the violence won the sympathy and adhetion of many, even those whose thoughts had been preoccupied by the war. The noble impatience and zeal of these women no longer excited derision, but rather compelled respect and even admiration.

Many of these women had sons, brothers and husbands at the front, and for this very reason they desired that "democracy" and "justice" should not be vain words at home. To promises that the vote would be granted immediately after the war, they answered "We want it now!"—and for this the press called them unpatriotic and certain politicians called them nuisances. The demonstrations continued until finally they had the satisfaction of seeing the very man against whom their campaign had been directed, the man they had been accused of annoying and betraying, come forth publicly and endorse the fundamental principle of their contention.

AN September 30, 1918, while the amendment was under discussion, President Wilson addressed the Senate:

"I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion."

This explicit declaration of the President, which exactly coincided with the claim of the Woman's Party, somewhat embarrassed their opponents.

But all the eloquence of this great Democrat did not avail to overcome the opposition of a few reactionary Senators. In spite of the President's appeal, the Senate defeated the amendment, which had been approved by the House of Representatives the preceding January. From an examination of the vote in the Senate it appears that responsibility for the defeat rests especially upon the President's own party, the Democrats.

It is to be hoped that Italian women also, with such noble perseverance, might be convinced of the necessity of organizing a unified "Woman's Party" to cooperate directly towards the solution of their various problems and secure protection for their labor and for their selves.

MARIA A. LOSCHI.

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Comments of the Press

THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT FAILS

It Was Defeated in the Senate by the Vote of the Solid South

THE failure of the equal suffrage vote in the Senate is unfortunate, because it will lead to a renewed agitation, certain to win in the end, and which has become exceedingly disagreeable. The women will now have to burn President Wilson in effigy some more, unless restrained by a meddling police, and the general trouble which was apparently about to end will now begin all over again.

One may or may not believe it wise to take control of suffrage from the states and make it a federal function, but when it has become evident that an overwhelming majority of the people are determined to do it common sense suggests the wisdom of expediting the process and making it unanimous.

It is, of course, absurd that women, however well qualified, should not be allowed to vote where the suffrage is freely exercised by the most corrupt and degraded of men. Reasonable men have never opposed it, except in the belief that the majority of women did not wish to assume the obligation. In this and other states where women vote we know that they have accomplished much good and no harm. They have demonstrated, what needed no demonstration, that they have quite as much common sense as men and a good deal more civic morality. Since it is written that control of suffrage shall be transferred to the nation it is best for all that it should be done quickly.

It is apparent that the senior senator from this State has brought trouble upon his head by deserting his post just when this all important question hung in the balance. The women have given him plainly to understand that the fact that he was paired is no excuse for desertion. It will never be known that if he had stayed in Washington and wrought strenuously as he should that he might not have won over the one vote need for victory. It is not likely to be forgotten.— *San Francisco Chronicle, February 12.*

The Suffrage Amendment

FOR the second time yesterday, the United States Senate refused to pass the bill which would, if approved, have provided for the submission to the state legislatures of the proposed constitutional amendment concerning the extension of the franchise to women. The vote yesterday was 55 to 29, one less than the necessary two-thirds. But are the suffrage leaders cast down? On the contrary, they gave out the proclamation within thirty minutes after the Senate vote was taken that they are demanding reconsideration—another vote—before the life of this Congress expires. As the Sixty-fifth Congress has less than three weeks of life left to it, including Sundays and Washington's birthday, and as there are more important measures pending, there would seem to be some reasonable room for doubt concerning the success of the drive for reconsideration.

As to the President, though he has put the deep and wide Atlantic between him and the strenuous workers for the constitutional amendment, he is not lost to memory. There were spectacular doings in front of the White House Sunday evening which brought about the arrest of sixty-five members of the National Woman's Party. This time it was not a burning of the Wilson speeches; it was something considerably more daring than that. It seems that the ardent advocates of the amendment had advance information about the adverse vote in the Senate on Monday. The theory of the White House protestors seems to be that a wireless word from the absent President would have put the amendment across, and they knew that the word had not been sent. Hence the bonfire protest.—*Baltimore American, February 11.*

A Way Out

SENATOR HITCHCOCK politely notifies the Nebraska legislature, which unanimously besought him to cease his opposition to the national woman suffrage amendment, that he shall continue his opposition to that measure. Senator Hitchcock knows better than the Nebraska legislature what Nebraska needs. It can have state suffrage, generously writes the senator. He himself will vote for that. But as to the submission of the national amendment which we ask for, that candy is not good for children and he must firmly refuse it.

Here we bump against our old problem of representation. What do we elect a representative to do? The debate on the question is as old as representation itself. It is not a one sided question.

A representative to be worth much must be a man of convictions. If he is to be tried and effective he must speak and vote his conviction. And yet, the people who pay his salary have a right to representation of their convictions. Nebraska has a senator, elected by a fluke, who practically never represents the convictions of a majority of the Nebraska people. He opposed the prohibition amendment which Nebraska and the country almost unanimously ratified. He has nagged and impeded the President whom his state endorsed by a majority of 40,000 votes. Now he defeats his state's wishes in the suffrage matter. He has four years more in which to misrepresent his constituents. How is the gap between Senator Hitchcock's convictions and his constituents' wishes to be bridged?

There is a way, a simple way, Senator Norris, the junior Nebraska senator, pointed the way two years ago. When there was an outcry against his attitude on the armed neutrality question, Senator Norris offered to resign if permitted to go before the people on that issue. He did not ask to force his convictions down the throats of his constituents; neither would he change his convictions. He proposed to take his chances on his ability to convince his constituents that he was right, stepping aside if some other better met their views. There we have the perfect solution of the problem. In that way the man of character and conviction in representative office can maintain his integrity, yet his constituents are not subject to a tyrannical enforcement of his decisions upon them.

Our political system is weak in its failure to provide adequately for this solution when representatives and their constituents part company. A conscientious representative can act for himself in such a matter, however. If Senator Hitchcock thinks he is right on these points of difference with the state, he ought not to be afraid to trust to his ability to convince us of the fact. The present legislature, we have no doubt, will be glad to furnish the senator the facilities needed for this test.— *Nebraska State Journal, January 28, 1919.*

Women Beaten Again

ONCE more the United States Senate has declined to give the women of this country a chance to let the people decide whether there is or is not to be a suffrage amendment to the federal constitution. If one senator who voted against the proposition had voted for it the necessary two-thirds majority would have been obtained, and the women of our country would no longer have had to be satisfied with such rights as are granted to aliens and minors. While woman suffrage has had a setback, it has not, of course, been disposed of permanently. The women will continue their fight until they win, and the victory, we may be sure, is not far off. In the meantime the women who own taxable property will have to pay taxes, just as if they were permitted to assist in framing the laws whereby the rates of taxation are fixed. Their objections to taxation without representation will have no more weight than would be the case if there never had been a Boston tea-party.— *Paper of Dem. Gerlor, Feb. 11, 1919.*

Treasurer's Report

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